

Votum pro Cæsare; .

OR, A

P L E A

FOR

CÆSAR;

Discovering briefly the great sinfulness of  
opposing the Authority of the higher Powers.

Delivered in a SERMON, Octob. 7. 1660.

By EDM. BARKER, Chaplain to the Right Honourable,  
the Lady CAPELL Dowager.

1 Sam. 26. 9.

*Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords anointed and  
be guiltless?*

2 Kings 14. 14.

*And it came to passe, as soon as the Kingdome was confirmed in his  
hand, that he slew his servants which had slain the King his  
Father.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for JOHN WILLIAMS at the Crown in S. Paul's  
Churchyard. c l o 1 0 c l x.



To the Right Honourable,  
The most accomplished and excellent Lady,  
The L A D Y

ELIZABETH CAPELL  
D O W A G E R;

M A D A M,



*My this discourse appear as  
gracious in your eyes, as it  
lately seemed pleasing and accept-  
able to your ear. I shall not be-  
shrew my self of my folly in let-  
ting it walk abroad, & giving it  
leave to take the fresh air. Ma-  
dam, my obligations from you are  
very many, & the comforts which  
I have hitherto enjoyed under  
you (ever since I first took Sanctu-  
ary in your family) not a few: I*  
\* 2 have

The Epistle

*have lived to see many wave-  
ings & tossings in other mens for-  
tunes and conditions, whilst I my  
self have laid at anchor, and en-  
joyed the sweetness of a secure re-  
tirement; and have been sheltred  
from those storms and tempests  
which have lighted heavy upon  
many. This priviledge, next under  
God, I do humbly acknowledge to  
be owing to your Honour; and the  
remembrance hereof affects me  
with the sense of a great Obliga-  
tion; and this forces my modesty,  
and puts me upon the necessity of  
returning ( though nothing pro-  
por-*



Dedicatory.

portionable, yet at least) somewhat in way of acknowledgement as a pledge and testimony of my thankfulness. And to let your Honour see how ambitious I am to be accounted gratefull, I have adventured to do that now against which I ever had the greatest aversation: which is, to appear in Print. And though what I here present you with, be no wayes worthy your eye; yet having been lately honoured with your ear, it is ever since grown proud, and will needs be gadding abroad, and see the fashions

The Epistle

*shions of the world, with resolutions (according as it likes it's entertainment) to bring more of it's fellows after it. But, Madam, I must remember that it is but a very small discourse which I here present you with, and I must not widen the gates beyond the proportion of the Citie; I doe therefore most humbly offer it into your Honours hands, and if you please cast it at your feet; and in case you shall think so favourably of it, as to vouchsafe it now and then the Honour of your eye, and admit  
it*

Dedictory.

*it graciously into your presence, it will reckon it self highly graced and dignified, and not ambitiously desire any other patronage. And howbeit ( I confess indeed ) it is not so properly calculated for your Family and relations, ( whose Loyalty hath been abundantly tryed in the Furnace, and have come forth glorious and shining ) yet I ( am proud to conceive ) it may be of some Use to others, and if but to one, it is enough. And thus recommending both*  
*it*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

*it to the favour of your gracious acceptance, and your self and most excellent relations to the protection and blessing of God Almighty, for a continuance of his comforts to you here, and a full consummation of perfect joy and happiness hereafter, I do humbly take my leave of you, and rest*

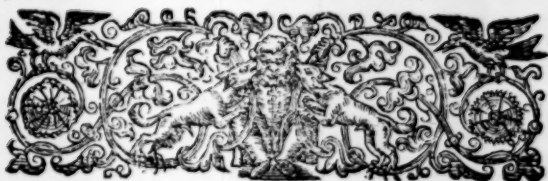
M A D A M,

Your Honour's

Most highly obliged, and  
perfectly devoted

Servant and Chaplain;

B A R K E R.



Luke 19. *vers.* 27.

*But those mine Enemies which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither and slay them before me.*

**T**Hese words are parabolically uttered by our Saviour in the name and person of a certain Noble man, as we render the word *ὁ ἄριστος* *vers.* 12. Although it is plain by the following passages in the Parable, that this Noble man was none other but a King; for he took his journey to receive to himself a \* Kingdom: & he severely destroy- *Βασιλείαν vers.* 9. ed and punished his rebellious Subjects in the Text, *Βασιλεύσας.* for not willing that he should reign over them: *† Εὐχόμενος ὡς* And this also may suite well enough with the *† Εὐχόμενος ἢ πατρὸς πε-* for though that properly relates to nobility of Birth, *εὐφρανέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἔχειν,* yet it excludes not the more excellent title and *Arist. lib. 1. de Anima.* office of Kingship, which is the highest step of Honour and Nobility, and from whence are derived *κορυφαῖον* (as streams from their fountain or spring head) all those *Βαθμῶς* Titles of honour and nobility which do put a difference among subjects, and make some noble and honourable above others.

A

Now

Now I confefs indeed that this whole Parable is mystically and spiritually meant, and to be understood of Christ; (*viz.*) the institution and establishment of his Kingdom; the rebellion and opposition of the *Jews* and wicked men against it; and then lastly Gods severe judgement and vengeance inflicted on them for their rebellion. And if any shall contend this to be the onely proper and genuine scope and design of our Saviour's repeating it here to his Disciples; for my part I shall not my self contend with him about it, but easily and readily grant what he contends for.

Howbeit, seeing the words (without any respect to the design and scope of their direction and intention) doe carry a good literal sense in themselves, agreeable to the analogy of Faith, and the voices of other Scriptures; I shall accordingly for the present consider them altogether under this grammatical sense and construction. And so they are the words of a justly enraged and provoked King taking vengeance on a company of traiterous and rebellious Subjects.

In them we have particularly considerable these three parts.

1. The parties arraigned and condemned: those mine enemies.
2. The ground and reason of their arraignment and condemnation. No lesse then an act of the highest Treason and rebellion, Who would not that I should reign over them.
3. The sentence determined, and passed upon them, Bring hither and slay them before me.

I shall begin with the first of these, the parties arraigned,

τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
μου ἐμῶν.

τοὺς μὴ  
λήσωτε με  
Βασιλεῦσαι.

ἀγαγετέ με  
καὶ καταφά-  
ξατε.

raigned and condemned; [*Those mine enemies*] now who or what these Enemies were, we have generally set down and described *vers.* 14. they were *ei* *anointed* his Citizens, people that had lived long and happy under the protection of his government, had derived all their rights and privileges from him, had enjoyed all their freedoms and immunities under him; and we will suppose too, that they had sworn fealty and allegiance to him, which (if so) brought a new accession of heinousness to their foul sin of ingratitude, (*viz.*) breach of Oath and promise: And can any punishment be too great, or sentence too severe for such? who have so little sense of their duty, make so little conscience of their Oathes, shew so little respect and reverence to the sacredness of that authority to which (under God) they owed their very being and preservation.

Should such Enemies be connived at, to what purpose then were Lawes, of what use then were Magistrates; yea to what end did God Almighty stamp such a signal Item of \* *Nolite tangere*, upon Regal Majesty and authority, *Touch not mine anointed*, not my *unctos populos*, my anointed people, not them causelessly and wrongfully: but my *unctos Reges*, mine anointed Kings and Princes, the heads and rulers of my people, not these at any rate.

Now is it a sin to touch them, and is it not much more sinfull to affront them? may not their persons be touched rudely and irreverently, & can it be lesse then a sin deserving the highest punishment to frame Articles of Indictment and accusation against them, to send abroad messages of exception against their go-

vernment; and instead of paying them their dues of ready subjection and obedience to their commands, to leap presently into their thrones and chaires of state and Majesty? if such offenders as these should go away unpunished, and that it should be free and safe for every unquiet and ambitious spirit (who is onely an enemy to Majesty, because himself is not King; and a despiser of governments, because himself is haughty and proud, and thinks scorn to be subject) to practise such irregularities: then farewell all Lawes, all order, all government, all difference of persons, all enclosures of civil title and propriety, all distinctions of *Meum* and *Tuum*; in a word, nothing but utter confusion and desolation, and turning all things upside down, must needs be the unhappy product and conclusion of such dangerous connivances. This for the first consideration of these enemies; they were his own subjects and Citizens.

οἱ πολῖται  
αὐτοῦ.

2. A second Consideration of these enemies respects their inward hatred and enmity towards him, ~~sayes that Text~~, they hated him. See, it is said indeed that they hated him; but there is no cause given of their hatred, no reason alledged of their enmity; and 'tis no matter whether there were or no; for what reason can be given, or cause alledged for a subjects hatred of his true and lawfull Sovereign? at least what just cause, what warrantable reason? \* Admit his government be exorbitant, yet is his authority venerable; grant his practices be vitious, yet is his person sacred: admit the execution and administration of his power be besides or contrary to law, yet is the derivation of his power by expresse deputation from God,

\* Rex semper honorandus, si non propter se, at-  
pamen propter ordi-  
nem, *August.*  
*quest. Vet. &*  
*No. Test. q. 35.*



God, and that to be sure is the supreme Law of all; and therefore sayes *Solomon*, <sup>a</sup> *Curse not the King*, *no* <sup>a Ecclef. 10. 20.</sup> *not in thy thoughts*; it is not said of a good, or a just, or a pious, or a mercifull King onely, but of a King, *quà* King; curse not such a one, no not in thy thought; not onely not openly in the reproaches of thy common and ordinary discourses, but not so much as secretly in any inward dislikes and undervaluings of thy thoughts, though thou art sure to escape unpunished, and not possible to be discovered by men.

God Almighty to the end that he might alwayes secure in us an awfull reverence and veneration of Majesty, hath not onely sealed up our tongues from evil speeches (according as we have it *Acts* 23. 5. *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy people*;) but also our hearts from evil thoughts and surmisings: we must not curse them at any rate, no not there. And if not that, then doubtles (by like proportion) not reproach them, not speak slightly of them, not make irreverent approaches into their presence, not publish their infirmities, not lessen their abilities, nor heighten their deviations, not scruple their just and lawfull commands; in a word, not do any thing which may probably tend to the least abatement or diminution of Majesty. And then see here the exceeding vilenesse of these enemies, *they hated Him*, their King. What, hate their King? a person, whom God almighty hath signally honoured with his own name, <sup>b</sup> *Dixi, Dii* <sup>b Psal. 82. 6.</sup> *estis*, I have said ye are gods; hath immediately raised up by his own proper ordination & constitution, <sup>c</sup> *per* <sup>c Prov. 9. 15.</sup> *me Reges regnant*, by me Kings reign; hath invested with unquestionable power and authority <sup>d</sup> *where* <sup>d Ecclef. 8. 4.</sup> *the*

the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? hath advanced above the jurisdiction and cognizance of Lawes, and made responsible to none but to himself; \* *tibi soli peccavi* said holy *David* a King, against thee onely have I sinned: though we know he defiled *Bathsheba*, and caused *Uriah* to be put to death: but they were both his subjects; and though the wrong was done to them in person, yet was the sin punishable by God onely, \* who alone is superiour to Kings, and the onely Iudge and censurer of their Actions.

\* Si quis de nobis, o Rex, justitiæ tramites transscendere voluerit, à te corripipotest; si vero tu excesseris, quis te corripiet? lequimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis, si autem nolueris, quis te damnet; nisi is qui se pronunciat effe justiciam.  
*Greg. Turon.*

\* *Psal.* 51. 4.

\* God the onely ruler of Princes,  
*Liturgie of the Church of Engl. collect for the King.*

*f Rom.* 13. 2.

*ewnes Ag. m. 2m,*

.. Divisum imperium cum Jove Cæsar habet,  
*Mart.*

Thus you see what signal Characters of Majesty and authority, of reverence and veneration, God Almighty hath stamp't upon the person and office of Kings, enough to make their names sacred and venerable with men, and to advance their Office above the aspiring reaches of popular ambitions and usurpations. That he might be sure to render their persons sacred and inviolable, he has hedged them in with a special and peremptory *Nolite tangere*, touch not mine anointed; and to assert the divine extraction and origination of their office, himself calls it *his* own ordinance and constitution.

We do not intend in all this to advance them above the degree and condition of mankind, though we place them in the highest rank and order of men. We dare not with that fawning Poet, call them co-partners and fellow-sharers with God in power and sovereignty. No, our Faith teacheth us better manners, our religion will not permit such flatteries; we do not give this honour to them, we dare not have these thoughts and apprehensions of them: yet this we

we say of them, and the Apostle warrants it, that they are *ἑοὺς ἀντιπροστάτους*, Gods immediate substitutes and deputies; his most proper Lientenants and representatives upon earth: further yet this also we say of them, and *Tertullian* warrants it, that they are *homines à Deo secundi, & solo Deo minores*, of men the very next step to divinity, and inferiour to none but God: nay further yet, this also we say of them, and *the ancient Poet* warrants it, and one of greater authority than the Poet, *S. Basil* (Itake it;) that they are *εἰκόνες τοῦ Θεοῦ*, of all other the liveliest transcripts and images of that Sovereignty and Supremacy which is proper onely to Divinity. So that now though we Deifie not the men, yet we magnifie their office; though we adore not their persons, yet we reverence their authority; we know them all the while to be but men which shall dye, and *Sons of men* which shall ere long be as grasse. And if haply their great power and command should beguile them, and put cheats upon them, and make them think otherwise of themselves, yet by and by either a fever, or an ague, or a fit of the stone, or colick, or gout, will discover the cheat, and shew that it is nothing so.

Howbeit, though we have these common thoughts and opinions of their humanities, yet dare we not have the least slighting persuasions and apprehensions of their authority. Gods command <sup>is</sup> to Honour them, <sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. 2. 17. and at no rate to hate them; he bids us to pray for them, yea for them <sup>first</sup> of all, for them in the first place, and by no means to curse them: His ordinance <sup>is</sup> that every soul be subject to them, yea to them <sup>as</sup> the highest powers, and inferiour to no power

∴ Ἀρχὴς π-  
 τυχὸς ἰδιαιτῶ  
 τῆς ἀξί-  
 Εἰκὼν ᾧ βασι-  
 λεὺς ἐστὶν ἱμ-  
 ψυχ-

Colimus  
Imperato-  
rem sic quo-  
modo & no-  
bis licet, &  
ipsi expedit.  
*Tert. ad Scap.*  
*b Esay 51.12.*

1 Tim. 2. 1  
 Rom. 10. 1.  
 1 Tim. 2. 1

but his own; and who then can rebell, and arm himself against them, and not at the same time fight against God? This for the second Consideration of these Enemies, respecting their inward hatred and enmity.

3. The third Consideration respects them in their posture of actual mutiny and hostility, The open breaking out of their sedition and rebellion: They sent a message after him, saying, *We will not have this man to reign over us*; so we indeed, but in the Greek it is *οὐ βούλομεθα αὐτὸν βασιλεῦσαι*, *they sent an embassy after him*. See how soon they begin to King it themselves; they (forsooth) must be in the mode of great Princes, and must be dispatching their Ambassadors, and sending abroad their messages; & to whom do they send them? why to their King; well, but what kind of message is it I trow? one would think that being a message from subjects to their King, it should be dressed up in all the circumstances of fear and reverence, of awfulness and trembling, of loyalty and fidelity, of submission and obedience, that possibly could be: but this is nothing such, but a message of open defiance and hostility, a message of utter disclaimure and renunciation; in a word, a message as full of rebellion and treason as words could possibly set it forth, *nolumus hunc regnare*, we will not have this man to reign over us.

Well, but mark first what a fit time they take to send this message after him; it was now in his absence, now that he was upon his journey. All the while he was present among them we hear of none of these carriages toward him, not a word of any such messages sent after him; but being onwards in his journey they

they presently take the advantage of his absence, and then they send after him. See, the children of darkness how wise, how cunning, how active, how diligent they are in their works of darkness: if any opportunity falls in their way which may advantage their wicked purposes, how greedily do they catch at it? how presently do they embrace it? how advantageously do they improve it and make use of it? These enemies (it is like) had waited a long time for an opportunity, but could light of none fit and ripe enough for their purpose: and now the first that offered it self, see, how presently they lay hold of it, what great advantages they make of it? Oh that the children of Light were also as wise and watchfull, and serious in their generations! that they were but in as good earnest, would but take as much pains, and be at as much cost, and make as many journeys, and lye as much at the catch in their wayes of piety, as sinners and wicked men do in their wayes and courses of sin.

Well but they uttered not these words in his presence, but sent them after him; and indeed, <sup>απιστοι λησται</sup> had they done otherwise, their impudence would have been greater, and their rudeness far more strange and wonderfull: for God Almighty hath stamp't such secret characters of reverence and awfulness upon the persons of Kings, that those very men who regard not the authority at all, are yet many times greatly afraid and awed with the Majesty of the presence. I have read of many in former times, and have heard of more of late times, who brought along with them mischievous designs and purposes enough against the life of their Prince, but when they came once into  
B
their

their presence, they wanted power to accomplish their errands, and courage to perfect the execution of their wicked designs. And therefore these men we see were subtle and cunning in their wickedness; and that they might work the surer, they dissembled an appearance of some modesty and bashfulness in their carriages; they did not violently assault their King, they did not formally arraign him, they did not erect an high Court of Justice to try him, and judge him: but (though wickedly enough, yet somewhat more modestly) they took the opportunity of his absence, ἀπέστειλαν ὀπίσω, *they sent after him*.

Well, but mark further a notable *climax* or gradation in their sin; first, ἠμίσησαν, *they hated him*; next ἀπέστειλαν ὀπίσω, *they sent after him*, next follows the full period and consummation of their wickedness, an act of open disclaimure and renunciation, οὐ θέλομεν βασιλεύειν, *We will not have this man to reign over us*. See here Sin's usual way of motion, how it moves progressively, and creeps on by little and little, and improves by degrees; and one Sin is a step to another, and every lesser Sin the disposition and in-let into a greater; It is rare that any man begins with great Sins at first, but slips into them by degrees, and ordinarily observes a kind of method in sinning, and commonly begins first with evil thoughts, then with evil desires, next with evil speeches, after that with evil actions, and last of all growes up into evil habits and customs: and then indeed is sin consummate & perfect, and hath all it's measures of viciousness; when a man comes once to make a trade of sin, and hath left off to blush at the conviction of an evil action; and doth begin

Nemo repente sit turpissimus.

begin now to work uncleanness \* with greediness, *Ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ*,  
and to make sinning a matter of course and necessity. Ephes. 4. 19.

There is commonly in most spirits a natural bashfulness unto sinnes of open fame and scandal, and men are at first shamesac't and modest, and their reputation begins to be concerned, and their spirits to fly back and start at the odious names of theft, or drunkenness, or murder, or sacriledge; neither does the Devil usually make these his first Lectures, but commonly begins first with smaller sinnes, and sinnes of lesse publick notice and discovery, and entertains the sinner at first with the wantonness of an evil thought, or an idle motion, and leaves him a while to make sport and play with this bait; but then having once well entred him here, and perswaded him into an easie yielding unto these, he with little adoe afterwards drawes him one step further unto evil desires and lustings, as being of equall privacy and secrecy with the former; and now the heart being full of evil thoughts and lustings, does naturally desire to ease and vent it self in sinfull speeches and discourses, and is in some pain 'till it be delivered of them; and here the tongue begins first to dissemble, next to lye, next to swear, next to blaspheme: and the next thing that the man goes in hand with, is the practice of evil actions; & here also (as before) the Devil keeps him to his old method: and first learns the man the art of fraud and cozening, after that the practice of extortion and oppression, afterwards the trade of open theft and violence; and by this time the man is grown a perfect artist and proficient, and is taught to swallow any bait, and to scruple at nothing.



This I adde the rather to perswade Christians to be very wary and carefull of the first motions and beginnings of sin, for he that easily gives way to a sinfull motion, cannot certainly tell where it will end, and how far it may possibly carry him. Holy *David* doubtles was sincerely pious and religious, and one, that had a proposition of adultery or murder been made to him at first, would certainly have thrown away the motion and abhorred the proposition, and have reckoned himself much undervalued, and have been very angry with the man that should have made it: but yet you see how soon the entertainment of a single lust drew him on to adultery; and being gone thus far, the regard of his credit and reputation did afterwards force him upon the necessity of moving a step forwards, and of adding the commission of another sin, to conceal and hide the shame of his former folly. It has never yet been accounted safe playing an after-game with Sin; the surest course is *principiis obviare*, to begin with it at it's first rise, to crush it in the egge, to stifle it in it's first movings and beginnings; he that will keep sin out of his tongue or hands, must be carefull to continue alwayes a strict and constant guard upon his heart, and observe every passage there, that there be never a chink or cranny left for sin to enter in at; for the least leak of all may let in water enough to drown the biggest Vessel. But no more of this.

I have hitherto shewn you the manner of these Enemies comport and carriage toward their King: come we now to examine a little the condition and nature of the message which they send



send after him; a message (you will soon grant, I am sure) of huge disloyalty and disaffection, of the highest pride and insolency; and to say no more of it, a message of open and actual defiance and renunciation, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, we will not have this man to reign over us. How is that? we will not: why then is it wholly as we will? Is the title and office of Kings become now such a *precarious* Title? or do they hold their Crowns and Scepters altogether in Tenancy from the people, that it is in their choice and power, to King them or un-King them, to continue them or displace them at pleasure? sayes not the Divine wisdom, *per me Reges regnant*, by me Kings reign? is there ever such a word as *per populum*, in all that Charter, which might entitle the people to some right and power in the choice of their supreme Magistrate? Again, sayes not the Apostle, *The powers that are, are ordained of God*? So that here you see is the joint consent and suffrage of both Testaments, to confirm and warrant the proposition, that Magistracy is not a popular choice, not a humane creature, † but a divine ordinance: and though \* *S. Peter* indeed calls it *an ordinance of man*: yet must we not so understand the expression, as if he intended it of Magistracy in respect of the first rise and institution of it, (which other Scriptures do expressly affirm to be of God, and not of man) but in regard of the subject wherein it is placed, and unto whom (of God) the due exercise and administration thereof is committed: neither (in respect of what follows in the same verse) can it be imagined that *S. Peter* in calling Magistracy an humane ordinance, had the least design to assert a

right

Rom. 13. 1.

Φερόμενοι τῷ

βασιλεῖ, ἐι-

δὲς ὅτι ὁ Κυ-

εῖος ἐστὶν ὁ ἡ-

γεγονότας,

Clem. consli.

1m.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

ἀνθρωπίνου

κρίνου,

τὸ πρὸς τὸ

ἐκ παλαιῶν,

μεγάλου ὅτι

κεκαταστά,

ὅτι διὰ Θεοῦ

ἐστὶν ὁ ποι

τὸ ἄρχον,

Porphyr.

ἐπὶ διαρχῆς,

Lib. 4. narrat.

de solenni a-

pud Ellenos

juramenti

formula.

Exemplum, de  
v. p. 10. 11.

right and power in people of creating and making their King: for this would be to maintain a flat contradiction: in regard that *Him* (the King) he calls *supreme*; and if the King be supreme, then are the people inferior to him; and that too, not only distributively in respect of every single and particular man (for this would be but to advance him into the rank and order of the best and noblest sort of subjects; a *goodly advancement for a King*) but collectively, as comprehending the whole masse and body of people. And as for that distinction of *singulis major*, but *universis minor*; it is a notion as far short of truth, as it is of antiquity: being a distinction of yesterdayes invention onely, unknown to the Sages of ancient times, and on purpose devised of late, to serve the ambitious ends of some, who by making that unsound & dangerous position the chief ground and reason of their actions, did thereby plainly bewray the weakness of their cause, & how little of solid truth & reason they had to pretend for what they did. But to return to our business; if the chief Magistrate be supreme, and the people inferior to him, then can he not be the peoples creature: for the Creator must of necessity be confessed superior to the creature, and not the creature to the Creator; neither is it possible that that which is made, should be more noble and excellent then that which made it; so that should it once be granted, that the chief Magistrate is the peoples creature; it must needs follow, that the same things at the same time, and in respect of the same, are supreme and not Supreme, inferior and not inferior.

But to give you all this more clearly in an example:  
and

and because I will free my self from the pretence of any exception, I will instance in the first King which was ever set up over the people of God, and that was *Saul* King of *Israel*. Now he, of whose choosing and setting up (I trow) was he? did the people choose him, was he their creature, and did they appoint him, and set him up over themselves? nothing lesse: they desired a King indeed, and went crying to *Samuel* that he would make them a King, 1 *Sam.* 8. But a King is, too noble and excellent a creature for *Samuel's* making; accordingly he carries this request and desire of the peoples unto God, to know his pleasure in the matter; and he afterwards chooseth them a King, and singles out the man, and describes the person, and impowers him with commission & authority, and causeth him to be brought before them; & when he was set before them, hark what *Samuel* said unto the people, 1 *Sam.* 10. 24. *See the man whom the Lord hath chosen*; mark, it is not whom you, but *whom the Lord hath chosen*. \* So that Kings you see are of Gods immediate choosing & setting up, the first King of all it is clear was so; & *primi & ultimi par ratio*, the charter holds alike in succession; accordingly it was well said of a holy *Austin*. *Qui regnum dedit Constantino Christiano, ipse dedit Iuliano Apostata*, he that gave the Kingdome to *Constantine* a Christian, gave it also to *Iulian* an Apostate; there was a very vast difference in the dispositions & qualities of these two Kings, the one a Christian, the other an Apostate; the one a protector, the other a persecutor; & yet you see they both alke deriv'd their commissions from the same divine hand; and they had both the same letters patents to produce for their authority,

he

\* Cujus jussu  
homines nas-  
cuntur, hujus  
jussu & r. ges  
constituuntur,  
apud iis, qui in  
illis temporibus  
ab ipsis  
reguntur  
Irenæus l. 5.  
a De civitat.  
Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

he that gave the Kingdome to the one, gave it to the other too; he that set up the one, set up the other likewise; he that made the one King, made the other King also. And then say, was it not a most frontless and impudent usurpation of power in these Citizens to say unto their King, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, we will not have this man reign over us?

Well, but is it then as they will? to continue their King, or to cast him off; to pay homage unto him, or to rebell against him at pleasure? Are Kings thus beholden to Subjects for their Allegiance? and is it a courtesie in them to pay it? and not rather their duty, yea their special priviledge, more, their singular happinesse, if they would see it. Call you this the way to honour Kings, which the Scripture every where inculcates? is this to be subject to the higher powers, which the Apostle so plainly commands, and that too in words of most peremptory and indispenfible importance, *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers*? See I pray, how he extends the duty, how he layes it at the door of every particular mans concernment; Let every *Soul*, High and Low, Rich and Poor, Noble and Ignoble; one with another all must submit, all must be subject to the higher powers. Again, mark well the expreffion he useth, *Let every Soul*; now I confesse that this word (*Soul*) is many times put in Scripture to signifie the whole man, and so it does here too; but yet (in regard of what follows *v. 5.*)

I cannot conceive but that the Apostle haply might have a special design in his choice of that word here in this place (*viz.*) to imply the right and proper principle of true Christian subjection; that it be not a mere forced,

Non nescimus  
David divi-  
nam esse tra-  
ditionem in  
officio ordinis  
regalis, idcirco  
Saul in eadem  
traditione po-  
situm non ri-  
ficat, ne Deo  
injuriarum fa-  
cere videatur,  
qui his  
ordinibus ho-  
norem decre-  
vit, August.  
Quest. Vet. &  
No. Test. q. 35.  
a Rom. 1. 13.

forced, or yet a formal submission altogether, not *ore tenus*, or *genus tenus*, not a *lip subjection*, or a *knee-subjection* onely, but a free and willing obedience, a subjection out of Conscience, a submission out of free choice and election, that we do *ex animo obedire*, obey from our souls; paying higher powers their tribute of all due subjection and submission, not barely as a task or imposition of duty laid upon us, but as a tender of willing choice and election freely flowing from us. And he that is such a Subject, and makes a conscience of his obedience, is straitly tyed up to a necessity of continual subjection, and desires not to cast off any yoke which Conscience layes upon him; But perseveres constant and stedfast in his duty, and nothing can shake him out of his allegiance, or persuade him to disloyalty, or tempt him to rebellion, \* or to practise any thing against the person, or honour, or life, or estate, or interest of his law full Sovereign; yea though an absolute Tyrant, though an open oppressor and grinder of his Subjects, though of a nature never so fierce and intractable, of a spirit never so hard and difficult, yet all this weighs nothing at all in the ballance of Conscience, which carries the Law and reason of it's obedience in it's own breast; and so doth readily answer whatsoever can be objected in this kind, with the Apostles two words, *ἀνάστα τὰς ἁγίας*, I must needs obey; every duty stands firm and sure upon the feet of Conscience; and therefore in whomsoever that is truly his principle of action, that man moves evenly and uniformly in every posture of duty, and hangs not *in aequilibrio*, in an equal poise and in-

Significan-  
tius dicit, om-  
nis anima,  
cum debuisset  
dici, Omnis  
Homo, ut in-  
telligeremus,  
non solum res  
nostras, non  
solum corpora  
nostra, sed  
etiam animas  
debere subiecti  
principibus  
secularibus, in  
iis quæ pos-  
sunt legitime  
imperare, Ca-  
jet. in locum.

\* Si totus or-  
bis adversus  
me conjuraret,  
ut quidpiam  
molirer adver-  
sus regiam  
Majestatem,  
ego tamen  
Deum time-  
rem, & ordi-  
natum ab eo  
Regem offen-  
dere non aude-  
rem, Bern.  
Epist. 170.

\* Tibi sum-  
mum rerum  
judicium dii  
dedere, nobis  
obsequii glo-  
riæ relicta est:  
dixit M. Te-  
rent. ad Cæ-  
sarem, apud  
Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. a Rom. 13. 5.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 6.

a Rom. 13. 5.

C

differentie

difference to either parts of a contradiction; but necessarily moves that way whither Conscience draws him, and is indispensably forced and put upon the practice of that, which Conscience tells him is his duty, and he must do it, or he sinnes grievously. I have done now with the first part of the Text, the parties arraigned.

Proceed we on to the second, the Cause and reason of their arraignment, implied in these words, *who would not that I should reign over them.*] In the message which these Citizens sent after their King, we meet with words of foul scorn and contempt, of most vile lessening and undervaluing; so mean and cheap (it seems) he was in their esteem and account, that they thought him not worthy a particular compellation; they scorned to call him by his proper name and title, but slightlyingly passed him over with a plain and common *πῦτον*, *We will not have this man* (this sorry, easie fellow, or indeed what ye please) *to reign over us.* And this indeed hath ever been the constant guise and practice of mutinous and seditious spirits, when ever they went about, and had a mind to resist and rebell against the authority of their lawfull Sovereigns, still to vilifie their persons, and to lessen and disparage their parts; and in a word, to throw on as much load, and to cast as much dirt upon the men, as may be, to the end that by so doing they might render them more cheap and contemptible in the eyes and esteem of the vulgar. An usage which *Machiavel* solemnly taught his Scholars, with an *Item* of *Nolite oblivisci*, and which hath been but too much practised of late years: and yet neither is this any thing more then what

*Hunc, despicentium est, & dedignatum nomen, Brugens. in locum.*

what is necessarily preparative to rebellion, and hath been the constant practice of Rebels; (*viz.*) to begin first with reproaching the persons of their Rulers, and possessing peoples minds with strange reports and stories of the men; and this being once done, the Scene is fairly laid as they would have it, and they have a handsome opportunity for their purpose, and people are willing to be helpfull and assisting to them; and now the mask begins to be laid aside by little and little: and the next posture which you shall likely find the men in, is in compleat armes, in some strong garrison, or pitchd field, in open confrontment and opposition of the power and authority of their King. Howbeit (if you mark it well) in this Kings charge and indictment here in the Text, there is nothing of all this recorded, nothing of their rudeness named, but only their rebellion punished, not their previous incivilities towards his person mentioned, but barely their present contempt of his authority sentenced. And was not this Crime enough, you will say, *Crimen laesæ Majestatis*, a Crime of the highest possible Treason? what can be more treasonable then this? or indeed is treasonable in comparision of this? what, to say of a King, *nolumus hunc*, we will not have this man to reign over us? and conformably thereunto to endeavour actually the dispossessing him of his Regal power and authority? Can Subjects possibly do more against their Sovereign? yes they may do more, and late examples have told us they may do more, (I speak not of a *Licet* what they lawfully may do, for so indeed they may not do so much; but of a *factum est*, what some subjects wickedly have done) they may also



adde fury to their rebellion, may lay violent hands upon their Sovereign, may draw up articles of Indictment against him, may cause him to be brought before their Tribunals, and thence passe sentence of death upon him; this they may do, for some we  
 2 Sam. I. 20. know have done it: *But tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon; lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoyce, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph.*

How be it these Rebels in the Text, were not such through proficients; they had not as yet learn't the art of killing of Kings, and of putting their lawfull Princes and Sovereigns to death: accordingly you see they laid not violent hands upon his person, but only remonstrated their disaffection to his government; they drew not up articles of Indictment against him, but onely cast off all yokes of obedience and subjection to his authority; their rebellion was not drest up in like formalities and circumstances with others of a later edition, onely, *noluerunt regnare*, they would not have Him to reign over them.

And why not Him I trow? was it for any misdemeanors in his government? or for his cruelty and severity towards them? or his Tyranny and usurpation over them? No, none of these reasons are alledged; and we may probably conclude they were not pretended, because not alledged. But they will have him no longer King, because they will, *Stat pro ratione voluntas*. And this indeed, would but people speak out, is the plain *English* of all rebellion, *nolunt regnare*, they will not have any King to reign over them: well, but where layes all the exception? not so much



much against the person of their King, *quà* Man, but his Office, *quà* King; for it is not said *noluerunt esse*, they would not have him to continue and remain among them, but *non regnare*, not to reign over them, not to be superiour to them, not to have any place of command or power, or preheminance above them; so that it was not so much the person of the man, as his authority, all this time, which they fired against, and did strike at; and made use onely of the person, to the end that through his sides they might mortally wound and destroy the authority it self. And this indeed is the whole bone of the controversie, Men are proud and aspiring, covetous and ambitious; they would all be Kings; and this makes them despisers of government, disobedient to Lawes, undervaluers and contemners of those in places of command and authority. I think I may very truly say it, that scarce ever yet was there a professed Rebel in the world, who did not all the while carry a King in his belly.

Would but the Church have made *Pelagius* Bishop, it might haply have been freed of his heresie; might but *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, have been all of them Priests, it is like they would not have disturbed the Congregation with their strange fire: and *Facite me Romana Ecclesia episcopum* (said *Prætextatus* a heathen to Pope *Damasus*) & *ero protinus Christianus*, an ingenuous confession, *Make me but once Bishop of Rome, and I will presently turn Christian*. There is usually in all seditious and discontented people, a spirit of much pride and ambition, and they are generally sick of a tympany, and their spirits begin to swell and grow big, and to quarrel with their  
con-

condition; and *Pelagius* must be a Bishop or he will turn Heretick; and *Diotrephes* must have the preheminence given him, or he will breed great stirres in the Church; and *Prætextatus* must be made Pope, and wear a miter, or he will not turn Christian; and this is that which puts men ever and anon upon strange and desperate designs: and because nothing can likely more serve their turns then pretences of Religion and reformation, to make Them commonly the stratagems and expedients of their ambition: for they observe most people to be naturally much delighted and pleased with pictures and images of Religion; and if they observe a man to pray long, or to fast often, or to be zealous against superstition, or to be open mouthed against prophaneſſe, or to have a mortified look, or a sullen eye brow, presently they cry him up for a Saint, and he is voiced abroad for an heavenly man; not considering all the while how his Principles are laid, and whereat his Religion may possibly be designed: and we our selves have lived in times which may sufficiently convince any sober man, that the forwardest professors and greatest talkers of Religion, are not alwayes the best Christians.

But these *χρῆσις* in the Text were no such pretenders of Religion, they wanted a mask of devotion to cast over their face of rebellion; they were right-down rebels; and if any rebellion be better then other, this is that: their design was rebellion, and they professedly owned it: and so their wickedness (though vile and bad enough) was by so much lesse sinfull, as it was more plain and simple: they did not sugar it over with pretences of Religion, or dresse it up with the

the garnish and false colours of devotion, but plainly told him their mind, *noluerunt regnare*, they would not have him to reign over them.

And thus now having hitherto discovered to you their guilt, I presume you will say it is high time that the men be brought to speedy execution; which also brings me to the third and last part of the Text; the sentence determined and passed upon them, *ἀγάγετε ἑδὲ, bring hither and slay them before me.*

In which sentence we have two things considerable,

First, the severity of the punishment.

Secondly, the speedy execution of the sentence.

The first you have implied in the *κατασφάζετε*, slay From σφάζω, them, destroy them, cut their throats, *more pecudum*, à quo σφα- as we usually serve beasts; and good reason for it too, ἢ jugulum. that they who by their sin had degenerated beneath the common civility and ingenuity of men, should now in their punishment be dealt with, and served after the manner of beasts. Es φάσας καὶ θύωσι σφῶς αὐτοὺς δι- φθίγγει, Thucyd.

Again the latter, that also you have intimated in the *ἀγάγετε ἑδὲ*, bring them forth hither: He would not (it seems) have the sentence deferred, and put off from day to day, but be presently put in execution, and his own eyes must be witnesses of the vengeance, *bring them hither and slay them before me.* And why, in this sin of theirs there were two things to be considered;

First, the horribleness of the fact it self.

Secondly, the evil example which it gave: both which did call for a speedy execution of justice, to the end, that neither by the long delay and suspension of vengeance, the course of justice might be stopped;

nor

nor by a general Act of pardon and oblivion, others be encouraged and emboldned unto the like wicked practices.

Now the observation which I shall raise from both these, is this; That a speedy execution of punishment upon notorious Offendors and malefactors, is a necessary Act of justice, and a seasonable mercy to a Nation. I grant indeed that mildnesse and clemency, that pardon and tenderneſſe are ſpecial virtues in a Magiſtrate; and *S. Jude's* rule is very good, and worthy the imitation of ſuch perſons: *εὖς μὲν διακρίναι, of ſome have compaſſion, making a difference*: howbeit, though ſuch are to ſhew mercy at times, yet they muſt doe it (you ſee) *ἀλλ' ἐν καιρῷ, and it muſt be diſpenſed with a difference*: All ſpirits are not capable of mercie, all people are not proper for mercie; and to be ſure, not ſcandalous, not notorious Offendors. Oh no; ſuch muſt be made examples, and be brought to ſpeedy tryal; and it is much more mercy to puniſh them, , and to let the ſentence of juſtice paſſe upon them here, that neither themſelves in their perſons, nor others by their means, and the encouragement of their impunity, may periſh eternally hereafter. And indeed, theſe quick and ſpeedy proceedings againſt ſuch Offendors, they are of very great uſe in a Kingdom, and do ſerve to ſeveral important purpoſes.

Fiſt, they are excellent expedients in themſelves, and the readieſt and likeliſt means to prevent publick judgements and calamities. When the Magiſtrate once draws his ſword of juſtice againſt ſin, then does God alſo begin to put up his ſword of vengeance, and commonly not before. The Scriptures afford us variety

riety of examples in this kind. When *Ioshua* and his men went against *Ai*, *The people of Ai* (sayes the Text) *came out against them and smote them, and chased them away*; this presently filled *Ioshua* with wondering and admiring at the strangeness of the discomfiture, that he who had fought so many victorious battels hitherto, should now be affronted and checked by such a little paltry City, such an inconsiderable handfull of people: well, but mark the course he takes, he goes and complains, and prayes, and cries heavily unto God; but God's cares are usually stopped to prayers which are not attended with justice. All his complaining, and praying, and crying prevailed not with God Almighty; No, he must have justice upon Malefactors done first: there was in *Ioshua's* Camp one *Achan*, who had lately committed a great sin, and deserved a great punishment, and untill execution be done upon him, *Ioshua* may complain and cry if he will, but shall be sure to be worsted. Another like example we have *2 Sam. 21. 1. There was a famine in the dayes of David three yeares, year after year; and David enquired of the Lord, and the Lord answered, it is for Saul and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites*; well, see the course that *David* takes, he calls for the *Gibeonites*, and asks what reparations he should make them, that they might bless the inheritance of the Lord; *And the Gibeonites said unto him, we will have no silver, nor no gold of Saul nor of his house, But the man that consumed us, and that devised mischief against us, that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the coasts of Israel: let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them*

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*them up unto the Lord in Gibeah of Saul*: and this being duly performed and executed, mark the issue, the famine presently ceased; and there was a speedy return of plenty and abundance again. But most memorable above any other is that example of *Ahab*, 1 Kings 20. who for sparing and shewing kindnesse and favour to *Benhadad*, whom he should have destroyed and slain, received this heavy doom from the mouth of God, ver. 42. *Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man whom I had appointed unto utter destruction, therefore shall thy life go for his life, and thy people for his people.* A Text which should make Magistrates very wary and cautious, lest the mercy which they shew to Malefactors, do over a while rebound back in heavy judgements either upon themselves or their posterity.

But then secondly, such speedy proceedings are also great checks and restraints to sin. Nothing does more awe wicked men into good order and discipline, and make them more afraid of sinning, and bind them over to their good behaviour; then a speedy execution of justice upon Offenders: for he that sees such men punished before his eyes, though he makes no conscience at all of the evil of the sin, yet will he somewhat tremble, and be afraid of committing the same fact, for fear of incurring a like punishment. It is true indeed, were all men ingeniously and virtuously spirited, as there would be no occasion, so would there be as little need and use of such severities; but you know what the Apostle saves, *Lex non posita est justo*, the Law is not made for a righteous man, but for sinners and wicked persons, to restrain and hinder them from

1 Tim. 1. 9.

from sinning; and common experience (too evidently) proves it, that the Magistrate contributes much more to the suppression of vice in a nation, by one stroke of his sword, then do many others, by a whole life of pious example and doctrine. Yea and for this cause too sayes the same Apostle *Rom. 13. 4. is the sword of justice put into his hand, that he should be* (*ἵνα δώῃ τοῖς ἁγίοις*) *an avenger of wrath to every one that doth evil.*

Again thirdly, such speedy proceedings are also great preservatives of peace and quiet in a nation. Nothing does sooner stifle rebellions, and suppress tumults, and appease murmurings, and discourage wicked devices and conspiracies then these: hence sayes *Solomon* of Righteousnesse, (a main part whereof you know consists in timely distributions of punishments) that *it exalteth a nation*, *Prov. 14. 32.* that is, makes it rich and populous, safe and secure. Ministers may preach their hearts out, and study to devise motives, and to prescribe rules of peaceable living; but when all is done, the Magistrates sword must have a great stroke in this work; he is the fittest *Εἰρηνοφύλαξ*, and the likeliest of all other to keep the peace: and therefore if he once growes remisse and backward in his executions of justice, it makes people proud and scornfull, and confident, and presumptuous; and every single sinner escaping unpunished, puts hope into thousands, that they also may doe so too: and so in the effect, a mercy shewn to one, proves a cruelty done to many.

Again fourthly and lastly, such speedy and timely proceedings are great gladdings and rejoycings to the



righteous and good people of the land. *The righteous*  
 Psal. 58. 10. (sayes holy David) *shall rejoyce when he seeth the ven-*  
*geance; and in perditione impiorum* (sayes Solomon) *erit*  
 Prov. 11. 10. *plaudatio*, when the wicked perisheth, there is shout-  
 1 Sam. 17. 52. ing: *When Goliath was slain, the people rose up and*  
*shouted for joy: when the Egyptians were drowned,*  
*Moses penned that admirable imitatio, Exod. 15. when*  
*Sifera was overthrown and kil'd, Deborah and Barak*  
*fell to composing their song of praise and thanksgi-*  
*ving, Iudg. 5. when Haman was hanged upon his*  
*lofty pair of gallows, the Iewes presently instituted*  
*their feast of Purim, dies epularum & latitie, dayes of*  
*general feasting and rejoycing, Esth. 9. Not that the*  
*righteous do (properly) take delight and pleasure in the*  
*destruction of any man; onely it glads them to see*  
*Lawes openly vindicated, justice duly executed, sin*  
*timely punished, and open marks of reproach and pu-*  
*nishment set upon wicked men; \* and such sights as*  
*these cannot doubtless but make every righteous man*  
*much applaud and comfort himself in his choice of*  
*innocency, and the constant use and practice of a vir-*  
*tuous life.*

\* Dum mala  
 opera puniun-  
 tur, laudan-  
 tur bona; ipsa  
 enim punitio  
 malorum, lau-  
 est bonorum;  
 Cajet. Com.  
 in cap. 13. ad  
 Rom.

And now all that I shall adde more as to the appli-  
 cation of this point, is a word onely of exhortation;  
 and I shall direct it chiefly to Magistrates, and persons  
 in places of command and trust, and into whose hand  
 the sword of Justice is put, & to whom specially the ad-  
 ministratio of Lawes belongeth: neither shall I take  
 upon me the boldness to prescribe rules and forms of  
 justice to them: but as a Minister of the Gospel, and in  
 the bowels of Iesus Christ, I do most humbly beseech  
 all such, that, for Gods sake, for the Kingdome and  
 Churches



Churches sake they would be couragious and active in their speedy and exemplary *Executions of Justice* upon Offendors and Malefactors: *Those Malefactors* especially, then whom (next unto those that crucified our Saviour) the Sun never yet saw any more impudently lewd and wicked. What, (said *Pilate* to the *Jews* concerning our Saviour) *Shall I crucifie your King?* speaking as one that admired and wondered at the strangeness of such an Act. But, see, what an heathen admired and wondered at, some Christians have since practised. But I must not honour them with that *καλὸν ὄνομα*, with that worthy name; rather, some that *Iam. 2. 7.* called themselves Christians, and would needs be accounted such: but let not our adversaries cast this in our teeth, *Exierunt à nobis*, they went out from us, they were not of us, who did these things, and in doing what they did, they un-Christned themselves. *I Ioh. 2. 19.* It is impossible for any Christian to arrive at such an height of impiety, but he must first quit his religion, and shake hands with his Christianity: for if any thing can possibly tye up men to Lawes and Government, to duty and allegiance, to obedience and reverence toward the persons of Kings, it is doubtlesse Christian Religion. Howbeit, to men that have once out grown all sense and modesty of conscience, such tyes and obligations are but as a fence of cobwebs, which they can easily break through at pleasure, and laugh at when they have done. And shall not such Offendors be punished? shall not such Malefactors have speedy and exemplary justice done upon them? is it not fit that they should? is it not just and necessary that they ought? Under the *Mosaical Law*, no land

land which had innocent blood shed in it, could be cleansed, but by the blood of him that shed it, *Nu. 35. 33*. Now was that the Law for common and ordinary blood? does that bring such a sin? does that entail such a curse? does that leave such<sup>a</sup> blot and stain upon a Nation, that there is no washing it off, no possible cleansing and wiping it out, otherwise then by the best of vindicative justice and vengeance? and shall we have cheaper thoughts, and make lesser account of Royal Sovereign blood? does that call loud for vengeance, and does not this cry much louder? will not God be friends with the nation, where that is silently connived at, and passed over? and will he likely ever be reconciled to that Kingdom where This is not severely punished? You know what great difference the Scripture puts betwixt the life of Kings, and of Subjects; making one drop of a Kings blood of more worth and value then many large quantities of the blood of subjects. *If we flee away* (said the men of *Judah* to *David*) *they will not care for us, and if half of us dye, they will not care for us. But now thou art more worth then ten thousand of us*; see the disproportion! ten thousand, to one. And does not God (think you) expect that we should observe a like proportion in our inquisitions after the blood of Kings? And doubtless it is nothing lesse then a special miracle of mercy, that we have been spared all this while, and that our land (the unhappy Scene of all this wickednesse, hath not long since become as *Sodom*, and been made like unto *Gomorrhah*: and yet did we not stand here, but have been daily adding to our measure of sin, and pickling up other horrible crimes (which though in

horror

2 Sam. 18. 3.

horror and magnitude not equal to the former, yet) such as the innocence of former times would have blusht at, and the modesty of our fore fathers have been put out of countenance to have heard so much as mentioned. But *Etas parentum, pejor avis, tulit* Horat. *nos Nequiores*; we are a viperous generation, a thrivi-glorr of sinners, people that have out-done the immodesties of former Malefactors, and devised new arts and stratagems to commence Excellent in wickednesse, and to try how far it was possible to sin. Many strange, many horrible things have of late yeares been done amongst us; and blood hath been as common in our streets as water; and the murder of Christians, as the slaughter of beasts. And no wonder neither, for having once leaped over this highest fence, and adventured that upon the life and person of their Sovereign, which never yet entred into the thoughts of the most heathen and barbarous people, (to be sure not drest up in like formalities) what tyes of Lawes, or obligations of Conscience, or motives of Reason, or arguments of Modesty can be imagined of strength and force sufficient to restrain such spirits from breaking out into any open violences which unbridled fury and frenzy can possibly suggest? Is it like that those salvages would afterward grow tender and squeamish, and make a conscience of the blood of their fellow-subjects, who were so prodigal of their Sovereignes? And yet, say I beseech you, has not this been our manner of living for these twelve yeares together? how hath our land been made another *Aceldama*, a field of blood? and this Kingdom of ours so famous in the Histories of former times,

Gen. 4. 10.

Revel. 6. 9.

times, for modesty and civility, for justice and equity, for Religion and reformation, for excellent Lawes, and government, been changed into the rudenesse of a wilderness, a dominion and habitation of Wolves and Tygres? Oh the abundance of innocent blood which hath of late yeares been shed among us! the cry whereof hath already pierced the Heavens, and is come up into the eares of the Lord of hosts, and is importunate, and will not be satisfied: and many souls of them that have been barbarously slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held, doe at this very time lye under the Altar, calling out and crying with loud voices, *How long oh Lord, holy and true, dost thou not avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?* And yet neither is this all; there hath of late yeares been a very great reproach and scandal brought upon the Protestant religion, and the wound hath gone deep, & our enemies do rejoyce & laugh at it, and there is no way possible to wipe it off, but by the exemplary punishment of them that brought it. And untill this be done, I fear God will not be perfectly reconciled unto us, nor our Church ever able to get up, nor our Kingdome ever recover into it's ancient happinesse and security; but still there will be fears, and plots, and jealousies, and continual parties and factions amongst us, and wicked men will be emboldned unto strange attempts, and good men much discouraged in wayes of loyalty and obedience. It is a notable example for Magistrates, that which we have recorded, *Psal. 106. 30. Then stood up Phineas and executed judgement, and so the plague ceased;* See, justice timely executed, it stayes plagues, it hastens mercies, it removes

removes and puts by judgements. We must not think that God will be reconciled to our land barely by our praying, or preaching, or fasting, and the like; nay but he will have justice executed withall, and sinners shamed, and Malefactors brought to condign punishment; when that work is once over, then if (afterwards) we return to him in the exercise of those holy duties, we may hopefully expect that he also will be friends with us, and will delight to dwell among us, and to do us good; and will be a wall of brass about our Kingdom, and will defend the person of our King, and will restore to our Church her ancient rights and honours, and will rain down blessings into our laps; and we shall not be any longer a reproach and a scorn, and a by word to our neighbours; but a joy to our friends, a terrour to our enemies; and shall enjoy a lasting succession of much peace, and plenty, and happiness in our land: and (in a word) when we have once made our kingdom *terram justitie* a land of righteousness, by removing the wicked from out of it: then will God also continue it to us for ever, *terram visionis*, another *Goshen*, a land of light and vision: Amen.

Numb. 35. 31.

*Moreover, you shall take no satisfaction for the life of a murderer, which is guilty of death; but he shall surely be put to death.*

F I N I S.